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A

SPEECH

TO THE

PEOPLE of ENGLAND.

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To the READER.

WHoever honours this attempt with a peruſal, will not, it is hoped, criticiſe upon it as a written compoſition, but conſider it as a ſpeech either delivered by himſelf, or addreſſed to an audience of which he is a part: and let him farther remember, that the man who ſpeaks from his heart, as every honeſt man muſt when he ſpeaks on the cauſe of his country, falls naturally into ſentiments and expreſſions which may be called flowers of rhetoric, and therefore little deſerves to be taxed with affectation.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE author of this attempt is fully ſenſible of its defects; but at a period, when it is almoſt criminal for any individual to affect neutrality, he cannot forbear rendering to that part which, from a conviction of its juſtice alone, he has eſpouſed, and to thoſe brave men who have fallen in defence of the conſtitution, the humble tribute even of his weak voice.

His ſaltem accumulem donis et fungar inani
Munere.

SPEECH, &c.

COUNTRYMEN AND FELLOW-CITIZENS,

THE hour is near at hand, when the valour and conduct of our countrymen abroad, aided by that Providence which we truſt ever will protect this great empire, will effectually cruſh that unnatural rebellion, which has too long continued to give juſt offence to every good and loyal ſubject; but while our gallant countrymen are with open force aſſerting the rights and dignity of this ſtate, let us, by moderately, but firmly, reſiſting the efforts of thoſe men, who either from intereſt, folly, or wickedneſs, endeavour to foſter and to nouriſh this calamity amongſt us, give each of us our aſſiſtance,

towards the rooting out the whole of this pernicious miſchief. Long have we been maturing to this full ripeneſs of evil: the wicked attempters to diſturb our public peace have proceeded with the moſt artful caution; 'twas to this baſe end that the inſidious harangues of the traiterous Junius were directed; for this vile purpoſe have ſo many methods been adopted to diſſeminate doubts and diſtruſts of the good intentions of your governors; ſo many endeavours made to perſuade you that thoſe men whoſe happineſs, whoſe ſafety, nature has ſo linked with yours, that either they muſt be happy with you, or periſh with you, were ſo loſt to all ſenſe of virtue, ſo deſtitute of every common regard to their own private intereſt, as to labour at completing your deſtruction, at the certain expence of every thing that was dear and valuable to themſelves. Well did theſe foes to public tranquillity perceive, that Engliſhmen ſtill poſſeſſed that animated reſolution which

had

had ſo often diſtinguiſhed the conduct of their anceſtors; eaſily did they know, that the anxious ſpirit of freedom was watchfully attentive to guard againſt any, the ſmalleſt encroachments; and under the well-diſſembled appearance of patriotiſm (a name which, ſacred in itſelf, they, by their deteſtable efforts, have almoſt rendered deſpicable,) have they endeavoured to excite your paſſions, and carry you headlong to the precipitate execution of all their iniquitous deſigns. But the fortune of this country has prevailed; their attempts to carry fire and ſword into every part of the wide extended dominions of this empire have, by the providence of the Almighty, been fruſtrated, and by a ſingular turn, which marks in a moſt ſpecial manner his indiſputable interpoſition in our behalf, the very ſucceſs they have had, tends only to their ruin: their ability to ſtand forth in arms, has only rouſed the vengeance of this ſtate, nor have they any other reſource,

than what the generoſity of this injured country may afford.

Let us then, my fellow-citizens, ſhew by our well-adviſed conduct, that this good ſucceſs has not been the effect of blind chance, but the regular conſequence of a virtuous, reſolute purſuit of what our duty to our ſovereign, our countrymen, and ourſelves, required. For our enemies who are confeſſed, I truſt (nor are the hopes ill-founded), that the wiſdom of our generals, and the courage of our troops, will ſufficiently provide; for thoſe who may yet continue amongſt us, let us make a proper uſe of the lenity that has already been ſhewn them, return to the allegiance which they owe their lawful ſovereign, to the performance of the duty which they owe to their fellow-citizens, nor let them be deterred by the conſciouſneſs of their guilt: the mercy of this generous country can equal the enormity even of their offence. But if this be too hard a taſk for them

them to undertake; if inveterate habits have rendered a matter of choice, a matter of neceſſity; let them at length go forth, and openly range themſelves under the ſtandard of rebellion: there will they find leaders diſtreſſed and deſperate as themſelves; there never will their ears be ſhocked by the ungrateful terms King or Government; all will be joyful anarchy and confuſion. How will their hearts overflow with malignant rapture, when looking around them, their eyes ſhall every where contemplate beings as factious, as needy, as calamitous, both in fortune and in character, as themſelves: there let them wait, till the vengeance of this injured people inflicts the puniſhment of their full completed guilt! For let them not hope ſtill to plot the deſtruction of this ſtate, even within the walls of this city; nor under the protection of our laws, to purſue their total ſubverſion. Juſtice cannot much longer bear with them; even clemency itſelf will determine no longer

to ſuffer or permit them: theſe miſcreants are ſo well known, that it needs no particular deſcription to ſet you on your guard againſt them, and every friend to his king and country ſufficiently knows how to treat them. But there are men againſt whom you ſhould be well guarded; men, who poſſibly not intending the ruin of their country, do ſtill, from a variety of motives, derived either from the complexion of their diſpoſitions, the caſt of their manners, or the ſituation of their circumſtances, both ſpeak and act in a manner favourable to the views of the avowed enemies of this ſtate, and have not a little contributed to give them expectations of accompliſhing their pernicious deſigns. And need I remind you of thoſe men who, diſappointed in their endeavours to poſſeſs the firſt poſts of government, employ without ceaſing the whole of their knowledge, their elocution, their ſkill, experience, and authority, to miſrepreſent, to perplex, and to counteract every

meaſure,

meaſure, wiſe or abſurd, advantageous or prejudicial, which they in power may adopt.

Yet I am not ſo unjuſt as to aſſert that there may not be found in the minority, men of as indiſputable integrity as they are of acknowledged abilities, who, like lights in a dark place, ſhine, it is true, with more conſpicuous luſtre on account of their ſituation, but never will be able to illumine the whole of that dreary extent. Of their principles I ſhall ſay nothing; I believe they are ſincere in their conduct, there is ſomething reſpectable even in the failings of a good man, and we pity his errors while we ſtudiouſly avoid them.

But for the reſt, let their opinions carry with them the greateſt weight, unleſs they evidently appear to be the effuſions of mere reſentment, that after all the various efforts they have made, after having tried every avenue to public favour, after having, notwithſtanding their own very high ſenſe of their family honour, degraded

graded themſelves by mixing in aſſemblies, ill-ſuited to their rank and ſtation, the natural futility of their characters has prevailed, and forced them to remain in that ſtate of political unimportance for which they were originally deſigned; a neceſſity of which nobody but themſelves ever entertained the ſmalleſt doubt. Let their opinions prevail, unleſs indeed they appear the opinions of men who are incapable of acting with any degree of ſteadineſs and reſolution, who oppoſe the meaſures they themſelves have adviſed, who ſhrink from the miſerable threats of a news-paper, and are happy to crouch under the protection of a declaimer.

Let their opinions prevail, if ever they ſhewed any outward regard to religion or morality; whoſe ſagacity is diſplayed over a gaming-table, or in deviſing new methods of ſupporting the moſt ſhameleſs and abandoned diſſipation. Let, in ſhort, their judgments prevail, whoſe idle unoccupied minds were eaſily ſeized by men

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eager to catch at the influence of their rank and fortune, in order to give freſh credit to the cauſe of a deſponding party. Let then the opinions of ſuch men as theſe, their dependents, their runners, or by whatever titles they may chooſe to be diſtinguiſhed, be entirely rejected; they act, indeed, as might be eaſily expected, they act as many wiſe and many brave men have done; they are ambitious of wealth and power; they are offended, and they reſent; they are ſlighted, and are inflamed with indignation. 'Tis natural; ſuffer them to vent their wrath in loud declamations and in vehement harangues.

But though the ſenſe of the frailty of human nature may incline you to make allowances for their conduct, 'tis no reaſon why you ſhould adopt their errors: you are bound by more forcible obligations than thoſe of mere indulgence to the weakneſs of humanity, by regard to the real intereſt of your country, by juſtice,

and by truth. Their orators may indeed come forwards, and, with looks of compoſed aſſurance, aſſert, that the only method of preſerving this country from certain ruin and deſtruction, is to conclude an haſty peace with rebellious America on her own terms; that we have not a loom on which the name of that ungrateful people is not deeply engraven. And can theſe gentlemen really imagine that this nation, ever diſtinguiſhed for its high ſpirited reſolute behaviour, poſſeſſed of ſuch reſources, ſupported by ſuch powerful allies, would tamely give up all title to the fruits of thoſe acquiſitions, which ſhe had gained laſt war at the expence of ſo much blood and treaſure? for think not, countrymen, that the rebels ever aimed at any thing elſe than total unlimited independence; it never was their intention that England ſhould receive from their commerce more benefit than any other nation, unleſs their own intereſt rendered a preference neceſſary. All our claims

muſt

muſt be either entirely abandoned, or reſolutely maintained; as to the diſmal conſequences which theſe orators foretold muſt neceſſarily enſue, look to facts: our trade was hardly ever more flouriſhing, or our manufactures more encouraged.

At the time theſe orators made ſuch ſolemn aſſurances, either they ſpoke with their conviction, or againſt it, if they ſpoke as they really believed: however we may commend their good intentions, we certainly cannot prefer their advice to that of other men of ſounder ſenſe and more enlarged information; but if they well knew how matters would turn, and only endeavoured to take advantage of the uſual diſlike to enter into hoſtilities, to bring the preſent miniſtry into diſcredit, and get poſſeſſion of their places, their efforts had a very good object; but they have failed of ſucceſs; the nation is now, from experience, convinced, that to purſue its rights is not the way of de-

ſtroying them; that to reſent one groſs inſult, rather ſerves to diſcourage, than to invite new ones.

The reaſoners now demand our attention; thoſe worthies who are ſo earneſt, ſo anxious that we ſhould be rightly informed of the nature and extent of Civil Liberty; theſe able calculators, who come forwards with their lines and rules, aſſuring us they have taken a moſt exact admeaſurement of the foundation and ſtructure of our government, and force* us to examine the vapid account, wherein they ſet forth the length, height, breadth, and thickneſs of the walls; puzzle us with an inſipid hiſtory of all its moſt trifling ornaments, their origin, and their progreſs; lead us through perplexed windings to all its moſt inſignificant apartments; aſſure us that this is the building we inhabit,

* I muſt beg leave to remind the reader of the means which were uſed to diſperſe a *celebrated pamphlet*, which was ſold at the price of three pence a piece.

and

and charitably inform us that it is tumbling in ruin on our heads. For my own part, when, in compliance to the faſhion of the times, I applied myſelf to examine this boaſted ſurvey, I rejected it altogether: this is not the houſe we live in; the government of England is a fabric of a ſtructure entirely different; this is the creature of a diſeaſed imagination, or, what is worſe, 'tis the abominable fiction of a heart fraught with envy and dark malicious reſentment. Away with this leaven of wickedneſs, theſe falſe prophets, who come to us in ſheep's cloathing, but inwardly are ravening wolves: they know where to find the advice I would give them, I have given it to them already.

But there are men who, with no propenſity to the deſtruction of this government, reaſon inceſſantly againſt it; who refuſe to believe that our miniſters have the leaſt integrity; who are ready to affirm that ſome of our judges, men of the moſt highly diſtinguiſhed abilities, who

are conſtantly purſuing fraud through all the doubles which practiſed chicanery (taking advantage of the multiplicity of our laws, and of the neceſſary forms of proceeding) can ſuggeſt, who are not only the bright ornament of their elevated ſtations, but a credit to mankind, to no one of whom they ever offered the ſlighteſt injury, unleſs indeed it may be called an injury to have ſometimes excited in the breaſts of their admiring auditors preſumptuous overweaning opinions of human nature, by exhibiting ſo glorious an example to what a height of perfection it is poſſible for the weakneſs of humanity to arrive; that ſuch men as theſe, ſo rich in the natural wealth of their underſtandings, ſo improved by the moſt enlarged education, ſo illuſtrious by their rank, ſo ſacred by the character of their ſtation, ſo reverend by their years, do conſtantly miſapply theſe great advantages to the attempt of concealing, and even juſtifying, fraud and oppreſſion; do diſtort

their

their judgments to favour the deteſtable views of a party, formed on the deſign of completing the deſtruction of this ſtate, and of raiſing their own private fortunes on the ruin of their country. Yet the patriots, who ſedulouſly guard againſt theſe pretended encroachments, ſhew a cruel ungenerous exultation whenever they hear of any little accident that may have befallen our countrymen in America: with what eagerneſs do they tell to one another, that the brave ſoldier muſt ſuffer more than the common miſeries of war; that he has been obliged to evacuate a convenient lodgment, and riſk himſelf, at a tempeſtuous ſeaſon, to the inclemencies of a boiſterous ſea; that if he is ill, there is no hoſpital for his reception; that the tranſports deſtined to convey him proviſions, have been driven out of their courſe, and he muſt wretchedly ſubſiſt on a ſcanty, unwholeſome diet. Barbarous, unfeeling men! he is a ſoldier, had you any generoſity, you would moſt ſenſibly

pity

pity his diſtreſs; he is your countryman, and demands your aſſiſtance; he is the aſſertor of your rights, and is entitled to your warmeſt relief: 'tis the hopes of the approbation of his fellow-citizens which ſupports him through all the fatigues and dangers of his profeſſion; even in the agonies of death they adminiſter comfort, and, without uneaſineſs, he leaves his children to the mercy of his God, and the generoſity of his country!

But they care for none of theſe things; their inflexible hearts obey only the dictates of ſtern Reaſon: periſh the wiſdom that is to be purchaſed at the expence of my humanity, the moſt amiable virtue of the heart, the brave man's diſtinguſhing characteriſtic.

I mean not to diſguſt your minds, already ſatiated, with a repetition of the arguments uſed both for and againſt our meaſures made uſe of to quell the American rebellion; but ſuffer me, by drawing a ſlight ſketch of the characters of

theſe

theſe various reaſoners, to aſſign the full ſatisfactory cauſe of the opinions they entertain; and here I ſpeak nothing of the deteſtable leaven of that old calculator, who are ever ready to ſeize and improve any opportunity that may preſent itſelf of overturning the form of our government, who have once ſucceeded in their efforts, and are now burning with malicious indignation, at ſeeing others in the poſſeſſion of thoſe honours and emoluments, which they propoſed to themſelves: they live but in the hopes of a revolution; and ſo long as they are not uppermoſt, they will be diſcontented; they are eaſily known. And why ſhould I take notice of thoſe men who adopt the opinions of the minority leaders, for other motives than the bare admiration of their virtue, or the ſole conviction of the juſtice of their arguments; who look to them for an opportunity of diſplaying whatever of learning or of eloquence they may poſſeſs; who, by every

means in their power, endeavour to advance the credit of that cauſe which their patrons ſupport. Far be it from me to impute to theſe gentlemen any the ſmalleſt blame, for a conduct from which, for aught I know, they derive to themſelves the greateſt honour: they make a grateful return for what encouragements they may have already received, and tenderly foſter thoſe young hopes, which may hereafter ſprout forth and produce a moſt healthy and bounteous harveſt. Why ſhould I ſpeak of the neceſſities which common acquaintance, which neighbourhoods, which entertainments, which meetings may occaſion; who does not perceive that each of theſe circumſtances muſt have its weight in determining the opinions of many. Nor are we to be ſurprized at ſeeing a tribe of lawyers, who are either nearly related to American merchants, and write and ſpeak as their own intereſt dictates, or in obedience to the wiſhes and inclinations

nations of their friends; or elſe, poſſeſſing more knowledge and more eloquence than what, in the exerciſe of their profeſſion, they can conveniently give vent to, purſue this well-beaten track, in order to arrive at popular honour. Such endeavours have not always failed of ſucceſs; the love of Liberty is deeply implanted in our hearts by the hands of Nature itſelf, ſhe is the object of our moſt tender care, for her our anceſtors have often bled, and in her defence we continue ready to face even death itſelf: ſcarcely the father hears with more delight the praiſes of a ſon, than we do the commendations, ever new, though the very ſame both in ſentiment and in expreſſion, which the remoteſt antiquity, in the moſt widely diſtant parts of the world, has conferred on this our boaſted invaluable birth-right; for what nation ſo barbarous as not to feel the impulſes of Nature herſelf? what language ſo imperfect as not fully to repreſent them? Their ſound is gone out into all

lands, and their words into the ends of the world; no wonder that we are inclined to give ſuch harangues more credit than they really deſerve; no wonder that artful men have found this an effectual way to advance their own private intereſt, or that it ſhould even now be looked on as a well adapted method of obtaining character and influence. But the ſame memory that preſerves the remembrance of ſuch means having been employed with ſucceſs, warns us to guard againſt ſimilar impoſitions.

There are others, men of well-diſpoſed hearts, of profound erudition, of ſingular piety, who have none of theſe motives of ſelf-intereſt; how is their conduct to be accounted for? Theſe, my countrymen, are men who, though of great learning, have no real wiſdom; though their minds may be capable of purſuing the concluſion of a propoſition through all the various ſtages of a well connected ſeries of proofs, have not, for want of experience in active life, that

clear

clear maſterly apprehenſion which it is neceſſay to poſſeſs in order to form a juſt judgment. They are too refined ſcholars to have recourſe to common ſenſe, the beſt guide on this and on any other occaſion, where its aſſiſtance can poſſibly be had; but building their faith on the reſpect which they pay to the opinion of ſome friend, on whom ſome of the motives beforementioned operate, collect all the materials of their extenſive reading, and apply them with force and ingenuity to the ſupport of this favoured adoption: poſſeſſed with high ideas of their own abilities, which are certainly very great, they are arrogant as well as powerful diſputants; engage them on their own ground of artificial ſenſe, they are formidable antagoniſts, who are loud in telling us that the powers of government are merely fiduciary, and vehemently inſiſt on the neceſſity of reſiſtance. But to what purpoſe is all their reaſoning? Government, from whatever origin it proceeded, whether

ther from force or conſent, it matters not, muſt unqueſtionably be regarded as intended for the public good; for this purpoſe a ſupreme abſolute power, compoſed of that part of power which each individual naturally poſſeſſed, and which it was inconſiſtent with civil ſociety that he ſhould yet continue maſter of, was lodged in the hands of one, of few, or of many; or in a form of government like our own, made by a combination of the three, for the purpoſe of better ſecuring the life, liberty, and property of each. Should this power be groſsly miſapplied, ſhould our governors not merely commit errors from the common imperfection of human nature, but wantonly, but cruelly, but from a wicked depravity of heart, openly aim at enſlaving us, Nature herſelf informs us how we are to act; reſiſtance then will not be a doctrine of reaſon, but a neceſſary impulſe of ſenſation; and he who is now found the moſt loyal ſubject, would then be the moſt reſolute aſſertor

of

of virtuous freedom. Until that dreadful neceſſity takes place, it is our duty to obey the laws, to love and to reſpect our governors; but it is well to keep theſe ſentiments alive, it is proper to guard againſt the mind's being over-awed by the outward majeſty of government. Yes, ſirs; he who can tamely ſubmit to the greateſt injuries, will be animated with the moſt generous enthuſiaſtic ardor, by their eloquent diſplay of his ſufferings: but facts are otherwiſe; no man conſiders his own injuries as trifling, we are all inclined to regard them as much more ſerious than they really are. I ſee, therefore, countrymen, no poſſible advantage which theſe reaſonings can tend to procure, but I ſee them efficacious for the nouriſhing of faction, for the countenancing and ſupporting of rebellion.

It is ſcarcely, I think, neceſſary for me to take particular notice of thoſe old men who, as we are informed by the hiſtory of every public diſturbance, have proved moſt active male-

contents

contents. They are entirely different from the laſt-mentioned ſet; for whereas they are conſtantly reaſoning, theſe never reaſon at all, but are exceedingly vehement and poſitive; theſe are men who, having waſted the vigour of their age in the moſt idle and expenſive diſſipation, having never applied themſelves to any uſeful or honourable purſuit, are forced, in order to relieve the tediouſneſs of time, to continue a life of debauchery, are ſhunned by all but men of their own ſtamp, or by thoſe who may happen ſomehow or other to be their miſerable dependents; they eaſily join in any plan for the ſubverſion of government, hoping that by ſuch alteration they may change their ſituation for the better. Fooliſh, ill-judging men! the fault lies elſewhere than in government; let who will be in power, manners like theirs, unſupported by the credit of ſuperior abilities, muſt ſink their owners into ſcorn and contempt.

Here

Here too may be ſpoken of, all thoſe whom any meaſures of government may have diſappointed in any particular expectation they had conceived; they likewiſe are very vehement: but as the reaſon of their diſcontent may be eaſily aſſigned, ſo their efforts are wholly inſignificant. As to thoſe unfortunate beings, whom nature produced for little other purpoſe than that of preventing the fruits of the earth from being ſpoiled for want of uſe; who may be of ſervice in encouraging the conſumption of our manufactures; the feebleneſs of whoſe minds leaves them an eaſy prey to any one that may think their occupancy worthy his regard; they, having been informed that liberty is a valuable poſſeſſion, and been poſitively aſſured by our pſuedo-patriots, that we are juſt on the point of loſing it for ever, are ſometimes, when elevated by wine, and particularly when in company with their ſuppoſed inferiors, very noiſy, and very impetuous: the whole ſub-

ſtance of their eloquence is a bitter invective againſt the miniſter, for not having done, what could not lie within the compaſs of human ability to perform. When a report is ſpread, that ſome orator intends favouring the miniſtry with a plan for removing the difficulties of government; then theſe echoes reverberate, "Miniſtry diſtreſſed, conſcious of their "errors, have applied to the minority, who "have graciouſly condeſcended to give them "aſſiſtance; this day puts an end to all our "complaints." Then are they ſurpriſed that the miniſter will be ſo abſurd as to continue the execution of a ſcheme, the folly of which he has himſelf avowed. Theſe are the dupes of their own weakneſs; the tools of artful, wicked men; and are much entitled to your pity. I never ſee any of theſe honeſt gentlemen puzzle, perplex, and work themſelves into a violent paſſion, without feeling the very deepeſt concern for the injury which his health

muſt

muſt ſuſtain by that exceſſive agitation of mind, as well as for the prejudice which his fortune muſt ſuffer from the groſs abuſe and miſapplication of his time; evils altogether brought on him through the good-natured innocence of his heart. For ſuch as he, an eaſy excuſe can readily be made; but for the reſt, they muſt be oppoſed by a ſpirit able to cope with ambition, avarice, and deſpair itſelf; and they are oppoſed by that ſpirit. For us, it will be ſufficient to damp their ardours by a cold indifference, ſuited to their various characters, to leave their petty machinations to the ſteady controul of a miniſter, who knows what the intereſt of his country demands, and who has induſtry and reſolution to purſue it.

As I am willing to believe that the behaviour of thoſe gentlemen, who diſtinguiſh themſelves by their vehement oppoſition to preſſing, is as yet problematical, I ſhall ſpare my remarks upon their equivocal conduct;

their future proceedings muſt determine their character. Rome had her Icilius; he too had his patriotic reaſons for preventing the raiſing of troops to oppoſe the Æqui and Veientes, who were at that very inſtant ravaging his country. If, like him, our patriots ſhould be found the cool deſigning enemies of this ſtate; the impious children who, eager to enjoy the poſſeſſions of an unſuſpecting parent, pretend to adminiſter ſanative medicines, and adminiſter but poiſon, may they meet their full recompence; may ſome virtuous hand prepare the wreathe, and with the voice of a conſenting nation bind round their brows the diſtinction which they will ſo juſtly merit. Their names may indeed deſcend to the remoteſt ages; but, like the perpetrator of the Epheſian ſacrilege, they ſhall be conſecrated not for their virtue, but for their ſuperlative guilt.

But let us turn from the proſpect of this ungrateful ſterility, to the view of that ſpot which is enriched with the growth of every virtue; where every manly, every generous ſentiment, is nouriſhed to its fulleſt vigour. Our intrepid ſoldiers and ſeamen attract our attention; thoſe heroes, by whoſe labours we are preſerved, by whoſe dangers we are ſecured; ever may their grateful country render the juſt reward which their abundant merit entitles them to receive. For thoſe who have fallen, lament no more; the moſt precious tears have already been ſhed; the dews of heaven have moiſtened their unburied heads; nor do they repent having paid obedience to the laws of their country. Erect no monuments to their memory, they live recorded in the minds of their fellow-citizens; they are added to that ſacred number whoſe reputation is canonized by glorious death. Nor can thoſe minds which glow with the love of

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liberty and of their ſovereign, need ſuch incentives to equal their virtuous conduct.

For their widows and orphans, now indeed the children of this ſtate, as well as for thoſe whom you ſee maimed and diſabled, your generoſity is making a proviſion ſuitable to their claims, and to your duty. How they received thoſe wounds, in what manner they fell, I do not remind you; I do not tell you that they were given, not by the hand of a generous enemy, who gallantly riſked himſelf either to give or to receive death, but by the weapons of cowardly and concealed aſſaſſins, whoſe daſtard arms, trembling at the moment of execution, ſent but a languid nerveleſs death; and the laſt moments of the brave veteran were embittered by the recollection by what hands he fell. He, who had repulſed the impetuous valour of the choſen legions of France; who had never aſked the number of his foes, but where they were;

were; whoſe honourable wounds, all in the front of his body, teſtified the manner by which his laurels had been acquired. Think not that I ſay this to excite your pity for their hard fate; they have gained their glorious reward. But if their brave comrades, recollecting the dying looks and accents of their murdered fellow-ſoldiers, ſhould, in the moment of battle, puſh their victory beyond what their own ſafety or honour perhaps required, call it not cruelty; the ſoldier's heart owns no ſuch influence; but it acknowledges the force of generous friendſhip; it may glow with the honeſt heat of open, manly reſentment. You know not, fellow-citizens, by what cloſe bonds of tender friendſhip they are connected, who ſhare together all the hazards of the glorious profeſſion of arms. Thoſe brave men, fearleſs of danger as nature will permit, are feelingly ſenſible of the moſt tender compaſſion. Which of you, whoſe deareſt friend had been murdered by a dark

dark aſſaſſin, would not purſue the villain, and bring him to the puniſhment which his crime deſerved? would that be cruelty, or rather would it not be mercy and compaſſion? I know not how others may feel on this occaſion, but were it not for the circumſtances of my ſituation, I would be one of the foremoſt to contribute more than my wiſhes to their aſſiſtance: as it is, let me remain happy in the full conviction of my being the ſincere lover of my country, and the ſteady friend of an army which takes the field in defence of the conſtitution.

For the reſt, my fellow-citizens, think that our moſt gracious ſovereign is not only entitled to our obedience, but to our love and warmeſt affection. Of all the deteſtable efforts which the enemies of this country have made, none can more highly excite our abhorrence than their attempts to diſturb the private happineſs of a prince, who, as he is poſſeſſed of a crown

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by a title the moſt indiſputable, conferred on him by the laws of his country, is adorned with ſo many virtues of the heart, that were he even a private, obſcure individual, he would be the object of admiration and reſpect; who, ſenſible as he is of what your intereſt, your rights, your honour, and his own dignity require, at the very moment that he is vindicating them from the efforts of avowed rebellion, holds forth mercy and forgiveneſs. When the Father of his country makes his appearance among you, give him the only reward that virtue aſks, the effuſions of a grateful heart; let your countenances ſhew him that you are ſenſible of his attention to the advancement of your happineſs, that you think him, what he really is, the Patriot Sovereign of a free people; that you are concious of being born to liberty, and know how to uſe it.

N O T E.

Page 16.—— " and without uneaſineſs he leaves his children " to the mercy of his God, and the generoſity of his country."

Captain Morris's behaviour in his laſt moments was but an inſtance of the ſpirit of his profeſſion. However freſh the ſtory may be in every body's memory, it were injuſtice to the dead not to mention the fact referred to. Captain Morris commanded the Briſtol, on the expedition againſt Carolina; ſoon after the engagement began, a ball ſhattered his arm, and he was obliged to ſuffer amputation; ſtill he maintained his poſt on the quarter-deck, where he received another ſhot; ſtill he continued the command, till a third ball put an end to his life. Juſt before he expired, his friends aſked him if he had any directions to leave relative to his children; he replied, "None; I leave them to the mercy of my God, and the generoſity of my country."—If this ſtory was told in Greek or Latin, pedants would pretend to feel its force; but it is in the power of Engliſhmen to profit from examples drawn from their own hiſtory; they are not under a neceſſity of having recourſe to the annals of other countries for inſtruction.

FINIS.